The Changing South — Its Economics

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THE MILITANT

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Will AFL-CIO Heads Meet the Real Issues?

By Fred Halstead

DEC. 4 — A major split confronts the American Federation Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations at its second constitutional convention scheduled to run from Dec. 5 through 13 in Atlantic City, N. J. At the first convention following unification of the AFL and CIO and just two years after the merger, George Meany and Walter Reuther and the rest of the labor leadership associated with them threatens to expel about ten per cent of the federation's membership. This includes the second largest union in the country, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

The primary cause of the anticipated split is the mounting government attack on the labor movement, spearheaded by Sen. McClellan's labor-probe committee which began hearings last February centering its major fire on the Teamsters.

McCLELLAN INJECTS ISSUES

The success of the government attack thus far is revealed by the fact that the issues injected by the McClellan Committee — particularly its pressure on the Meany-Reuther labor officialdom for action against the Teamsters — dominate convention preparations.

This comes at a time when the working people are faced with a government drive to lower their living standards in the "more guns, less butter" arms race. The economy is in a recession with unemployment now expected to exceed five million in 1958. The struggle against segregation in the South continues to grow more acute and the need for a Southern organizing drive more imperative. Congress is planning a host of anti-union laws, and there is danger that a "right-to-work" law will be enacted in the industrial state of California and in other Northern and Western industrial regions.

The Meany-Reuther moves against the IBT and other targets of the McClellan committee do nothing to advance a solution for the pressing problems of labor's rank and file.

Suspended from the AFL-CIO, deprived of voting representation in the convention and threatened with expulsion are the Teamsters with 1.3 million

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AFL-CIO President George Meany (right) and Vice-President Walter Reuther at the merger convention of the AFL-CIO in December 1955. As the second convention of the merged organization convenes, labor's unity is threatened by Meany and Reuther's policy of cooperation with the anti-union McClellan committee.

Submarines Used In Germ-War Tests

The following item is from the Nov. 26 Toronto Globe and Mail: "While the effectiveness of the submarine as a means of delivering a thermonuclear device on the target has already been related, little has been said of its use as a potential carrier for biological warfare. Sometime ago, a British ship completed an 80-mile run in the North Sea, deliberately releasing germs as it went. A few weeks later these microbes were found in every corner of the British Isles. "Some months ago, a U.S. submarine cruised beneath the surface of the Atlantic, funneling microbes into the air above. These were found in five Eastern States. A similar experiment along the Pacific coast resulted in the embarrassing death of two persons."

Gov't Drops Smith Act Case in Cal.

DEC. 2 — **The government's use of the Smith Act as a weapon for punishing dissident political thought received a crippling new blow today when a federal judge in Los Angeles dismissed "conspiracy" indictments under the act against ten California Communist Party members.** The dismissal came on the "reluctant" request of an Assistant United States Attorney who said that the Justice Department could not "satisfy the evidentiary requirements laid down by the Supreme Court in its opinion reversing the conviction in this matter."

Those released were among 15 defendants convicted in 1952. On June 17 the Supreme Court freed five of the defendants and ordered a new trial for the others, declaring that the government must prove something more than abstract advocacy of ideas. The subsequent decision of the Justice Department to drop the case is glaring proof that the prosecution was based solely on the expression of political opinions.

Those who have now won their freedom are: Mrs. Dorothy Healey Connelly, Los Angeles; Mrs. Oleta O'Connor Yates, San Francisco; Mrs. Loretta Starvus Stack, San Francisco; Ernest Otto Fox, San Francisco; Carl Lambert, San Francisco; Albert Lima, Oakland; Frank Carlson, Los Angeles; Ben Dobbs, Los Angeles and William Schneiderman of San Francisco."

One of those freed, Dorothy Healey Connelly, still faces a prison term for contempt of court because of her refusal in the trial to answer questions that would have placed her in the position of an informer. **She was sentenced to a year for each such question that she refused to answer, with the sentences to run concurrently. The Supreme Court struck down contempt penalties for each additional refusal to answer but upheld the penalty for the original refusal to act as a stool pigeon.**

Educators, Clergymen Urge U.S. Halt A-Tests

Oppose Missiles "Crash" Program; Ask Unilateral Action on Atomic Arms

By Herman Chauka

Forty-eight prominent educators and clergymen called on the U.S. government, Dec. 2, to "cancel tests scheduled for April in the Pacific and declare a moratorium on all testing of mass destruction nuclear weapons in the hope other nations will follow the example." They also oppose the government's stepping up the arms race with a missile "crash program" in response to the launching of the Soviet satellites.

Among those demanding a halt to the tests were the Reverend Martin Luther King, leader of the Montgomery bus protest movement; A. J. Muste, secretary emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and chairman of the American Forum-For Socialist Education; Lewis Mumford, author and city planner; John Hayes Holmes of the Community Church in New York; Clarence Pickett of the American Friends Service Committee and Harry Emerson Fosdick of the Riverside Church in New York."

They declare that a halt to the Pacific nuclear tests is particularly vital because "it is morally indefensible and politically disastrous to hold tests outside American territory in international waters where people of other nations who have not agreed, and are indeed protesting, have to bear the consequences."

WORLD POLL

The extent of the protest by people of other nations, and particularly by those who bear the brunt of the danger of U.S. tests in the Pacific, was graphically revealed in the world poll conducted by the New York Herald Tribune. That paper reported Nov. 17 that 60% of the people of other countries saw the tests as a menace and that in Japan 76% of the population were so convinced.

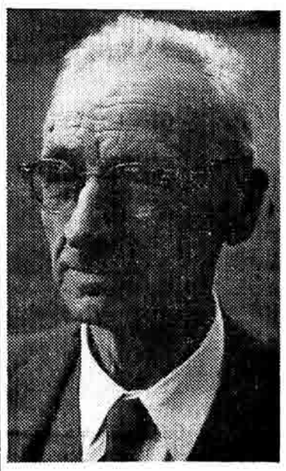
It is above all the duty of the American labor movement to organize popular opposition in the U.S. in solidarity with that of the peoples abroad. But the top labor leadership's support to U.S. foreign policy seriously handicaps resistance in this country to nuclear tests at this time.

The demand of the 48 for unilateral U.S. action in suspending explosions is particularly relevant inasmuch as Washington deliberately sabotaged an opportunity last summer to reach an international agreement for a long-term test stoppage. At the London disarmament conference the Soviet Union made a clear-cut proposal for such an agreement and offered substantial concessions to the U.S. regarding rights of inspection forces to ensure enforcement of the test ban. The U.S. diplomats found a variety of pretexts to reject the offer.

NEW HOAX

At that time Washington tried to combat the world-wide demand for a halt to the tests by launching a propaganda campaign around the fake claim that continued testing was essential to perfect a "clean" bomb. The present demands for a test ban is being countered with a new hoax. The AEC is now claiming that further explosions would actually be beneficial to humanity as an aid to engineering projects. **This is based on an underground A-blast in Nevada last Sept. 18. The AEC reported that the explosion made the top of a mountain jump six inches before falling back in place. AEC director Willard Libby said, "I've not seen anything in years so exciting."**

Backs A-Protest



A. J. MUSTE

U.S., French Imperialists In Rift Over Algeria War

By George Lavan

U.S. imperialism has executed a turn in its foreign policy on the war in Algeria. This was publicly revealed by the Dec. 3 speech of U.S. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge in the UN. Described as a "middle of the road" speech by the U.S. press because it alternates praise for French imperialism's intentions in Algeria with praise for the "compromise" plan advanced by Tunisia and Morocco, the speech marks the end of Washington's unconditional support of the war against the Algerian people.

For three years U.S. imperialism has given France the armaments, finances and diplomatic support without which it could not have continued the Algerian war. The State Department is now convinced that French imperialism is incapable of putting down the Algerians. This war, which the French government is conducting with Nazi-like terror and torture methods, not only is generally embarrassing to U.S. propaganda about "the free world," it feeds the flames of anti-imperialism throughout the Arab Middle East making U.S. efforts to impose control there more difficult. Finally, U.S. business interests are pressing for a slice of the North African profit pie, till now the exclusive preserve of French capitalism, for important oil discoveries have been made in the Sahara Desert.

The U.S. plan is to settle the Algerian War by making the French government give a few political concessions in Algeria which will neither end French political control nor endanger the imperialist control of the economy.

Obviously the U.S. has set itself quite a delicate task. The majority of French capitalists and their politicians have been shouting for three years that they will grant absolutely no concessions to the Algerians. The Algerian people on the other hand have been fighting and dying for three years for independence. **To impose upon them a settlement without independence would be like stopping the American Revolution of 1776 midway with a "compromise" of some minor political reforms within the British Empire.**

U.S. imperialism doesn't expect to accomplish this task overnight, but it has taken the first steps. First came the token arms shipment (500 rifles) a few weeks ago to Tunisia. The French Prime Minister screamed like a stuck pig because he realized the shipment signified that the U.S. and Tunisia had reached an agreement on Algeria. He dispatched his Foreign Minister Pineau post-haste to Washington for secret confabs to make Dulles reconsider.

NORTH AFRICA FEDERATION PLAN

Meanwhile the U.S.-sponsored deal began to take public shape. A North African Federation, consisting of Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria, was envisaged as a substitute for Algerian independence. France would still control Algeria but should negotiate some political reforms and install in office there opportunist leaders of the National Liberation Front (FLN), which is controlled by the right-wing of the Algerian independence movement. These leaders, though proclaiming before the Algerian masses their devotion to the goal of independence, have on several past occasions given indications of a willing-

(Continued on page 2)

Nat'l Conference Opens New Fight in Sobell Case

By Myra Tanner Weiss

Representatives of local Sobell Committees from all over the country came together in New York City for a two-day conference on Nov. 30 and Dec. 1 to discuss the next stage in the fight to free Morton Sobell from Alcatraz. The conference made clear that the blow dealt to justice by the Nov. 12 refusal of the Supreme Court to study the most important "conspiracy" trial in U.S. history would be answered with an even bigger effort to rouse the indignation of the American people at the terrible injustice done to the young scientist in Alcatraz.

The conference made plans to acquaint over a million Americans in the period ahead with the facts in the case and to ask their participation in the campaign to free Sobell.

Delegates expressed new optimism that this campaign would be successful because of the changing political atmosphere in America. Attempts to create new "spy" scares to explain away the Soviet sputniks, not only failed to create a hysteria of the type that sent Sobell to prison over seven years ago but were greeted by many with irritation and disgust. The fact that some of J. Robert Oppenheimer's defamers are now taking a second look at whether or not the noted atomic physicist was given justice or was victimized by witch-hunters gives rise to the hope that all earlier cases of injustice will get a new hearing.

The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell will engage in intensified legal research and investigation to obtain new evidence for further court action following the Supreme Court's refusal to study the case. **At the same time a campaign will be launched for a Presidential pardon or commutation. Sobell is now serving his eighth year of a 30-year sentence.**

The conference elected a subcommittee to draw up detailed plans for such campaign. New literature will be issued that will explain the case of Morton Sobell in popular form and present the accumulation of evidence of the frame-up that the Supreme Court callously refused to examine.

Methods of reaching the American workers in the labor movement were discussed at some length. Significant progress in this direction was reported at the Conference. **Those who have fought many years to establish the truth in the Sobell case have an unshakable confidence in the vindication of Morton Sobell and his liberation from prison in the near future.**

Economy Slumps; War Spending Seen Only Prop

By Joseph Keller

America's economic situation —now generally referred to as a "recession"—is beginning to push its way more forcefully into the newspaper headlines and columns. Capitalist political and press commentators still generally describe the economic slowdown as "mild." That may be true in terms of profits for the big corporations. But for unemployed workers and their families there can be no such thing as a "mild" recession.

Economists of the U.S. Department of Labor, who are always the last to stick their necks out when it comes to making unfavorable predictions about the private-profit economy, got around on Nov. 21 to conceding that a considerable rise in mass unemployment is in store. They forecast a jobless total in the neighborhood of 4,000,000 by next February. We may take this as a conservative guess.

Increases in unemployment were reported in November from more than 60 per cent of the country's major industrial centers. This indicates lay-offs not merely in a few scattered industries and areas but on a widespread national scale.

"OVER-CAPACITY"

Business analysts and economists are more and more putting emphasis on the central factor in the current decline—so-called "over-production." They mean the fact that productive capacity of industry has outstripped the ability of the consumers to absorb the amount of goods thrown on the market at present stratospheric prices.

Speaking of "public resistance to increased prices"—that is, public inability to pay higher prices — N. Y. Times financial commentator John G. Forrest cited on Dec. 1 the example of Ford's new Edsel car. **He says that the largest dealer in New York City has given up the franchise for the Edsel after only three months. "This occurs," writes Forrest, "at a time when over-capacity prevails in many lines of business."**

STEEL, MACHINE TOOLS

This "over-capacity" appears in such basic and economically-significant industries as steel and machine tools. Noting that many companies which had planned expansion in plants and equipment "are now taking a second look at their problem," Forrest points out that new orders for machine-tools," the equipment that spells out mass production," fell in October to the lowest point since February 1950. This was a 58% drop from October 1956.

As for the most basic industry, steel, it operated in the week ending Nov. 30 at 73.6% of rated capacity, down from 76.0% the previous week and 101.1% a year earlier. **According to a Dec. 2 report in the N.Y. World-Telegram, the steel industry expects ingot output in 1958 "to slip no more than 5 per cent" below this year's considerably lowered production.**

How do the Big Business rulers of this country expect to forestall a prolonged and deep slump?

EUROPEAN MARKET

One of the factors that helped overcome the 1953-54 recession was the strong European demand for U.S. commodities. The European boom at that time, aided by huge U.S. grants and loans, continued almost in full stride. Now U.S. exports have begun to sag badly. But this time, Europe appears less of a prospective customer for our surpluses. As Edwin L. Dale Jr., N.Y. Times correspondent, observed on Nov. 30:

"Europe today is definitely not booming as it was in 1953-54. . . . the generality holds true that the rate of increase in over-all economic activity has slowed sharply in the last year or year and one-half."

Another N.Y. Times writer, Richard E. Mooney, asking where the new spur to economic advance may be sought, rules out another plant and equipment boom because of "the tremendous productive capacity it [industry] has built for itself in postwar years." He concludes that "the kicker will come from defense spending."

"LESS BUTTER"

But more war spending will not mean a higher standard of living for the wage-earners. The Big Business press has already launched a campaign to prepare the people for reduced social welfare benefits and for higher taxes. A Nov. 23 N.Y. World-Telegram editorial proposed to get "extra cash" for missiles by raising postal rates and killing the soil bank program, as examples, "and if still further funds are needed, they should be raised by higher taxes."

Along the same line, Associated Press staff writer Sam Dawson summed up ways to get more war funds. **First would be by "paring sums from various domestic programs" such as farm price supports and veterans outlays—"less butter for either the farmers or the veterans." A second way "to pay for more defense would be to raise taxes." A third way is "deficit financing, raising the federal debt limit . . . an inflationary measure, one of the classic reasons why prices rise." He concludes: "Any of the three ways, therefore, end up in meaning less butter. . ."**

IN THIS ISSUE

"The Debate in the People's World"

(See page 3)

"Soviet Man Has Become a Critic"

Further confirmation of the Soviet population's increasingly outspoken criticism of their bureaucratic rulers appears in an article in the Sunday magazine section (Nov. 9) of the Toronto Globe, one of Canada's leading newspapers. **The author, George Sherman, a Russian-speaking journalist, bases the article on a visit to the USSR this past summer. The following are excerpts.**

"Honest-minded people one meets openly admit that their press is entirely unrepresentative of the trend of thought in the country. It goes on day after day spitting out platitudes, cliches, and vindictive jargon — things every thinking person discarded long ago."

"It was no surprise when one of my acquaintances suddenly asked: 'Is it also necessary to read between the lines in your papers to find out what has really happened?' In journalism, as among writers generally, he said, there is a running battle between the older Stalinist bureaucrats on the one hand and the younger writers (and even some party groups who want to inject some latitude in presenting the agreed socialist point of view) on the other. He, at least, was optimistic about the outcome: 'We are the young, and the future is ours, for life goes forward, not backward, with time.'"

"The Soviet student is determined to find out about the outside world, to seize hold of his greater opportunity to hear different ideas. He is not always pleased with the result. 'So often your people speak in terms which no longer apply,' said one irritated youth. 'You must not think we are basically against our system. After all our fathers built it. What we want is change, to bring it back to the people in whose name it says and does so much.'"

"In one of our frequent conversations on the subject, a student acquaintance confessed: 'It was Hungary that really started me thinking about what was wrong with our system. I have a friend in the army who was sent to Budapest. Later he told me about the Russian soldiers who were shot because they refused to fire on Hungarian workers — on the workers! How could anyone believe the story of counter-revolution after that?'"

"I suspect that Nikita Khrushchev's twists and turns regarding his former mentor [Stalin] have compounded the existing political cynicism. . . In any case, Khrushchev is not respected. He is popular; he is admired as a shrewd muzhik, better at the game than most — but he is not respected. Scores of jokes centered on his flamboyant demagogy are circulated freely."

Economics of the Changing South

By Arne Swabeck

The dramatic events at Montgomery, Alabama last year and more recently at Little Rock, Arkansas are the social and political consequences of deep-going changes in the economic foundation of the "Old South."

Since the beginning of World War II the industrialization of the Southern States has advanced at a rate more rapid than that of the country as a whole. This is an upheaval more profound in many ways than the Secession for it is changing the basis on which the South makes its living.

SIX-FOLD GROWTH

According to a comprehensive survey published in the Jan. 27, 1956 U.S. News and World Report, the Southern states at the turn of the century had only 9% of the country's manufacturing facilities; now they have nearly one-quarter of them. Gains in manufacturing output, between 1939 and 1954, ranged from 353% for Alabama to 533% for South Carolina. In the five states of Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee and South Carolina business volume of 1939 had multiplied 6 times by 1955.

Louisiana is the front-runner. Since 1947 it has outstripped the nation as a whole in the rate of factory output. Industrial output for all the Southern states climbed close to 60 billion dollars in 1955. Capital and industrial know-how have poured from the North into the South for exploitation of its great reservoir of cheap labor. In the process these investments took over and transformed the old semi-feudal system of production in the South.

"War plants gave the South its first real shot in the arm," says U.S. News and World Report. The whole South was engulfed by a tide of construction for arms plants. This included the fiendish products of the nuclear age at the well known Oak Ridge A-bomb plant in Tennessee and the huge installation for H-bomb manufacture at Aiken, South Carolina.

Modern technology has also invaded the formerly backward Southern agriculture. The long reign of King Cotton, in which the mule, broad backs and hoes furnished the motive power, has come to an end. The king's realm has been taken over by cattle, grains, rice and other products.

CHANGE IN AGRICULTURE

Agriculture is being mechanized. Where cotton is still grown, tractors and cotton-picking machines rattle along the roads and into the fields. Even in Mississippi the change is striking. One of its large plantations lost nearly half of its population — more than 1,800 people — in a twelve year period. The missing "hands" were replaced by 30 cotton-picking machines and 180 tractors. Sharecropping had by 1950 been cut to less than half, according to the U.S. census, and it is now definitely on its way out.

Sharecroppers and plantation hands together with the poor whites, subsisting on marginal lands, are being expropriated from the soil and transformed into wage workers. They migrate and furnish labor power for industries in the North; man the new plants in the South, or they simply become agricultural laborers. **A predominantly agricultural people is being transformed into an industrial people. Vast numbers have been entirely uprooted from the land and drawn into the industrial centers, both North and South.**

These changes affect the economic status of the Negro people as well as the poor whites. Only about one-seventh of the Negro population in the South was urban in 1900; the figure had risen to one-third in 1940, and to one-half at the mid-century point.

E. D. NIXON, an active unionist, played a prominent role in the Montgomery bus protest movement.

This continuing trend is connected with the greater entry of Negroes into manufacturing industry. Between 1940 and 1950, according to the National Negro Year Book, the percentage of non-whites thus engaged rose from 10.1 to 14.4; these were occupied, however, predominantly in semi-skilled and unskilled classifications. Other reports indicate a continued increase in this ratio. **A special study covering manufacturing industries in Little Rock, Ark. shows total Negro employment reached 21.9% of the labor forces by 1950. Both Negroes and poor whites are crossing over in increasing numbers from the rural to the industrial sector. As they do so, they become increasingly subjected to the revolutionary action of industrialization and mechanization.**

It was otherwise during the decades that followed the end of the Reconstruction period. More than anything else, the rural backwardness of the South made it possible for the plantation owners to re-establish gradually the Jim Crow system of segregation. For Negroes, civil rights disappeared; their conditions of servitude, either as plantation "hands" or sharecroppers, when compared to slavery, had changed only in form. Poor whites, whose economic status was not materially superior to that of the Negroes, sought comfort in the artificially stimulated ideas of white supremacy — a beggar's pomp that was due only to the deeper degradation of others.

WHO GAINED FROM JIM CROW

Thus whether enforced by "legal restrictions," floggings or lynchings, segregation separated the workers of both races and pitted them against each other the more easily to keep them in subjection and to guarantee to the exploiters a reserve of cheap labor. Both Wall Street and the Southern plantation owners benefited from it. On this basis the Southern Bourbons were able to maintain the monstrous, archaic governmental system that still rules the "Old South."

Now both this old history and economics have changed. Big Business itself, whose industrialization of the South is the revolutionizing factor, is caught up in the contradictory process that is set into motion by these changes.

The Negro journalist, George S. Schuyler, was too optimistic when he wrote: "The white supremacy propaganda has become a Frankenstein's monster which, having largely served its purpose, the more intelligent members of the ruling class would fain destroy but now are terrorized by their own creation." Segregation, white supremacy ideas and racial prejudices have by no means been plowed under by the shift from hoes to tractors; much less has discrimination in employment classifications, wages or in social and political life been eliminated.

EQUALLY EXPLOITED

Nevertheless, it must be recognized that the invasion by the capitalist mode of production has undermined the very basis on which the degrading and brutalizing Jim Crow system had ruled supreme. It is pitilessly tearing asunder the hoary ties that bound the descendants of the Negro slaves to their "natural superiors." Regardless of race, Negroes and poor whites are becoming equal objects of exploitation under command of the masters who own the means of production.

The capitalist mode of production requires a pool of readily available labor with sufficient education to be turned into a reliable and efficient appendage to the machine. Within its plants, it requires a labor force relatively unfettered by restrictive covenants; and it cannot work effectively with separate facilities on the assembly line. For example U.S. News and World Report insists that there is no segregation inside the huge H-bomb plant at Aiken, S. C., which is run by the Du Pont Company. Negroes use the same eating, drinking and toilet facilities as do whites.

FEDERAL GOVT. VS. 'STATES' RIGHTS'

Moreover, the big monopoly concerns, financial and industrial, which have increased their hold on the Southern economy, are impatient with pleas of special "States Rights" for the maintenance of an archaic political heritage which hinders untrammeled exploitation of cheap labor whether black or white. What they require for their entrenchment in the South is greater political centralization; greater control in the hands of their ideal executive — the federal government.

The ruling monopoly capitalists are keenly aware of the explosive elements inherent in the growing consciousness and the heroic solidarity of the Negro people in pursuance of their struggle for civil rights. This awareness is further heightened by their anticipation of an economic downturn and its inevitable consequences of class conflicts.

The ruling monopoly capitalists are no less keenly aware of the inflammatory effects of Jim Crow rule by the Southern Bourbons upon the tinder box of world crisis. It tends to stimulate anti-imperialist ferment in colonial and semi-colonial areas. It becomes a liability in their drive for world power.

These are then the factors of supreme importance relating to the issues arising out of the changing Southern economy. First, the revolutionary effects of its industrial development collide with the archaic economic base and political superstructure. Second, there is the mounting pressure of the Negro people for social equality. And finally, there are the effects of these upon the revolutionary ferment and upheavals American imperialism faces abroad in its drive for world power. These factors are all interrelated and react upon one another. Increasing tension within one of these areas becomes reflected either directly or indirectly in the others.

Unquestionably, these were also the basically motivating factors for the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court on desegration and for the President's military intervention at Little Rock as well. While both actions appeared clothed in the garb of moral and legal precepts, the economic and political needs of the ruling class were the overriding considerations.

Although capitalist industrialization can undermine the Old South and even modify it in certain respects, it cannot carry through to the end the reconstruction required to give the Negro people the equality they demand. It can give them at most equality of exploitation, not equality of legal rights or of living conditions. For this, an alignment of other class forces is needed — namely, the alliance of the labor movement with the Negro struggle for equality and integration.

(To be concluded next week)

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Cleveland	$ 600	714.00	119
Milwaukee	250	285.00	114
Oakland	240	241.00	100
Allentown	102	102.00	100
Buffalo	1,800	1,800.00	100
Chicago	1,560	1,560.00	100
Seattle	500	500.00	100
Youngstown	300	300.00	100
Detroit	825	791.50	96
Boston	600	508.00	85
Twin Cities	1,584	1,303.00	82
Los Angeles	4,000	3,072.25	77
Newark	240	175.00	73
New York	4,500	3,204.90	71
Philadelphia	480	327.73	68
San Francisco	450	180.00	40
St. Louis	80	12.00	15
General	—	182.85	—
Totals through December 4	$18,111	$15,259.23	84

Socialist Press Fund Has a Banner Week

By Constance Farr
National Campaign Director

Over $1,900 was received during the past week for the Press and Publications Fund. This is the largest amount collected in any one week; it is an encouraging sign that by Dec. 15, the quota of $18.111 will be realized in full. Total collected through Dec. 4 is $15,259.23, or 84% of the total pledged.

Cleveland and Milwaukee, having previously sent in their quota, added to their total this week, bringing them to 119 and 114 percent respectively.

New York collected pledges amounting to $704. "At this rate, we can expect to reach our quota by the date of the extended deadline," reports R. Lopez.

Campaign director Ann Dorsey wired in to say that Seattle had reached its goal of $500. "Seattle expresses its satisfaction at being able to make its fund drive quota by December 1st in spite of adverse conditions. We regret only that the increased quota which we accepted at this time could not possibly have been larger, a circumstance, which we hope and expect to rectify on each future occasion."

Twenty-five dollars was received from a friend in the South, with best wishes for the success of the fund.

Readers of The Militant who are aware of the importance of publishing out-of-print works by Leon Trotsky, as well as supporting the socialist press, can help by sending contributions to 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Los Angeles

Black Gold and Imperialist Robbery In the Middle East

●

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Fri., Dec. 13 — 8:15 P. M.

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. . . U.S., France in Rift Over Algeria

(Continued from page 1)

ness to sell out the struggle for less. President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia, himself a right-wing leader of his own country's independence movement a few years back, exercises great influence on the FLN leaders in Tunisia and has apparently assured U.S. imperialism that he has them in his hip pocket for the proposed deal.

On the eve of King Mohammed's departure for the U.S., Bourguiba flew to Morocco for a conference. Out of it came an offer by both rulers to arrange negotiations between France and the FLN leaders to end the Algerian War. The Bourguiba-King Mohammed communique avoided use of the word "independence."

French Prime Minister Gaillard indignantly denounced the offer, although former Premier Mendes-France urged its acceptance. Instead the French government went ahead with the passage of its so-called "frame-work law" for Algeria. This legal monstrosity makes no appreciable political concession to the Algerians. Rather it provides for cutting Algeria up into separate states, several of them gerrymandered so that they would be controlled by the French settlers, with the remote possibility of federation on a strict states' rights basis.

DISHONEST MOVE

No Algerian freedom-fighter would touch this "concession" with a ten-foot pole. Nor do the French politicians expect them to — its sole purpose is to enable the French government to claim it has offered a concession and thus try to counter the unfavorable publicity expected from the scheduled UN debate on Algeria.

The plan proposed by the Tunisian president and Moroccan king with the encouragement of the State Department, is a stab in the back to the Algerian independence movement. It must be realized that Bourguiba and King Mohammed both fear the triumph of the Algerian revolution for it would give an impulsion to the revolutions in their countries which they and their small native capitalist classes have so far succeeded in stopping midway.

The Christian Science Monitor, which along with the N.Y. Times gives the best coverage in this country of foreign news, printed a very revealing story on Nov. 21. Volney D. Hurd, chief of its Paris news bureau wrote:

"According to informed sources in N. Africa, these talks [between Bourguiba and King Mohammed] made it clear that full independence for Algeria — which was M. Bourguiba's ostensible goal—would pose a distinct threat to Tunisia and all but rule out the prospect of M. Bourguiba's becoming the leader of a 'great North African federation' comprising Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria.

. . . "It follows that a semi-independent Algeria, over which France could maintain just enough of a restraining hand to keep it from dominating North Africa, would be an essential for both M. Bourguiba and King Mohammed. Yet caught in a great Arab world drive for independence they must help seek it for Algeria while hoping the final result will be a little less. . . . [Bourguiba] has kept in close touch with the leaders of Algeria's National Liberation Front in Tunis and recently made strong efforts to modify their intransigence.

"He has urged them to accept negotiations with France without the precondition of French recognition of Algerian independence. He is understood to be against any sudden French withdrawal from Algeria. . . . King Mohammed has now fallen into step with Bourguiba and favors a less-than-full independence for Algeria as best meeting the mutual security needs of Morocco and Tunisia. To sum up, a dynamic Western-oriented and Washington-favored M. Bourguiba could hope to strike a balance with both a less ambitious Morocco and a French-restrained Algeria which would permit him to hope for the leadership of a federation of the three.

"A free Algeria, on the other hand, would constitute a dangerous rival for its much smaller Tunisian neighbor. The turmoil caused by a sudden French departure would breed a dangerous instability across the long Algerian-Tunisian border frontier which could prove disastrous for M. Bourguiba and his moderate government."

Working people should bear in mind the above expose of Bourguiba and King Mohammed and their "compromise" offer. For the Big Business press in the U.S. is sure to begin a propaganda campaign picturing them as great champions of Algeria who merit the support of all men of good will. It will also try to picture U.S. imperialism's changing policy on Algeria as courageous anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism when it is nothing of the sort. **The U.S. State Department, having failed to crush the Algerian independence movement by direct support of the French military suppression, has now switched to a tactic which it thinks has more chance of success. The common denominator of both tactics is U.S. imperialism's opposition to Algerian independence and the progress of the Arab people.**

. . . AFL-CIO Convention

(Continued from page 1)

members, the Bakery and Confectionary Workers Union with 132,000 members, the Laundry Workers International Union with 75,000 members and the Distillery Workers Union with 25,000 members.

NO DEMOCRACY

These four were among six unions suspended by the AFL-CIO Executive Council on charges of violating the AFL-CIO "Ethical Practices Codes." The Allied Industrial Workers Union (formerly the United Auto Workers, AFL) has been reinstated after accepting a "monitorship" appointed by the AFL-CIO tops. This brings no democracy to the union — only reshuffling at the top. The United Textile Workers (the former AFL affiliate) is expected to be reinstated under a similar deal.

Statements by AFL President Meany that the expulsions are motivated by a desire to cleanse the labor movement of corruption and make democratic reforms are not to be taken seriously. The desire for reforms comes too late in the life of the AFL-CIO tops to be genuine. The bureaucratic corruption publicized by the McClellan committee has existed for many years, was common knowledge in the labor movement, and was, at the very least, tolerated without audible objection by Meany and his present colleagues. (A. J. Hayes, for example, who is presently chairman of the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee, was one of the sponsors of a testimonial dinner honoring Jamgs Hoffa in Detroit in 1956.)

Nor do the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Codes or the methods by which they are being applied have anything in common with union democracy. It is true that the codes, which were adopted under pressure from the McClellan Committee hearings, provide for minimum administrative safeguards for union welfare funds and that they prohibit union officials from having investments in companies with which they may have bargaining relationships.

WITCH-HUNT WEAPON

But aside from these two limited provisions, the codes are in fact an additional bureaucratic weapon against democratic rights because they undermine the Fifth Amendment and call for victimization of union members for their political beliefs. In a number of cases they have served to reinforce the government inspired witch hunt against radicals in the unions.

At the same time, the Meany-Reuther wing of the labor bureaucracy is grinding its own ax within the AFL-CIO. Their program for the solution of all major problems confronting the working people is their dependence on the Democratic Party. They reject any perspective of independent labor political action for the sake of a few meager reforms — or promises of reforms from this particular party of Big Business. Meany and Reuther seek greater centralized and bureaucratic control and less autonomy for the international unions in order to line up as much of the labor movement as possible behind the Democrats.

The Teamsters and a number of craft unions in the Building Trades, have not conformed to a centralized political policy or to all-out support for the Democrats. They have wanted freedom to make deals with capitalist politicians in either party on a local scale where many building contracts are awarded. Thus on both sides of the dispute, labor's fate is placed in dependence on capitalist political machines.

In addition the building trades and the Teamsters have continued to press jurisdictional claims against the industrial unions, particularly in plant maintenance work. This factor may account for some of Reuther's eagerness in the attack on the Teamsters, but it is secondary to the drive toward a centralized dictatorship over the entire AFL-CIO, which in turn is secondary to the drive to curry favor with the Big Business politicians on a national scale.

OPPORTUNITY FOR RANKS

The split being pushed by the AFL-CIO leaders will create disunity in the face of the government attacks in a period when the class struggle appears to be sharpening. But the split also ruptures bureaucratic unity at the top at the very time when struggles for union democracy are beginning to take place.

If the expulsions are carried through, jurisdictional war within the labor movement could develop. Where should militant unionists stand? They should fight for labor unity on a militant and democratic basis. By the same token, the right of each union to chose its own leaders and run its own internal affairs must be supported. **The developing rank-and-file movements will obtain room to bargain between the contending forces. They should use it to gain a maximum amount of rank-and-file control.**

Ceylonese Strike Wave Hits Low Pay, Inflation

By Harry Ring

Dec. 4—Ceylon is gripped today by a wave of militant strike struggles. Thousands of workers in key industries and government services, largely under revolutionary leadership, are fighting for wage increases to combat the ravages of inflation on their extremely low living standards. The strikes have precipitated a serious crisis for the "popular front" Bandaranaike government which has failed to redeem its election pledges to initiate cost-of-living wage increases.

As of this writing, in the capital city of Colombo alone, 12,000 dock workers and 8,000 municipal employees are on strike. Last month there was a two-day general strike by 85,000 federal employees and strikes by numerous other unions.

CITY AT STANDSTILL

The present strikes in Colombo have brought that city to a virtual standstill. The striking municipal workers include bus and street car drivers and water and sewage maintenance men. The dock strike brought cancellation of the weekly tea auction in that city. It was announced Dec. 1 that federal troops would be used to maintain the water supply and sewage system. The government decided, however, not to try to use troops to load and unload the 42 ships lying in the harbor.

The dock strike was apparently called to force the government and shippers to come through with the major concessions promised after a previous strike. On Oct. 17, the United Port Workers Union had called a 24-hour stoppage and followed it up with a port-wide slowdown. After eleven days of the slowdown, the government pledged to set up a corporation to operate the port which would be 75% state-owned. **It also pledged itself to compel the bosses to grant an eight-hour day, 45-hour week, along with wage increases and other improvements. According to the plan promised by the Ceylonese cabinet, the government would take over the assets of the foreign-owned companies and the remaining 25% would be divided among the Ceylonese companies in port. The slowdown was then called off.**

The present dock walkout coincided with a Nov. 29 government award to the federal employees who had staged their two-day strike Nov. 16. The government workers had demanded an increase in the minimum wage to 2½ rupees a day (About 50 cents in U.S. currency!), an increase in cost-of-living allowances and full union and political rights for federal employees. They returned to work after the government pledged substantial concessions. When the concessions were announced, Nov. 29, the dockers apparently walked out again because their demands had not been granted.

POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

While based on economic issues, the strike struggles in Ceylon have major political implications since most of the unions in that country are aligned with the various political parties. Unsuccessful efforts to curb the strikes are being made by supporters of the Bandaranaike government, including the Communist Party and the Revolutionary Equality Party. The leader of the latter group, Philip Gunawardena, a one-time Trotskyist now in the government, has been particularly active in trying to stem the struggle.

The principal leadership for the strike movement has been provided by the Trotskyist Ceylon Equality (Lanka Samasamaja) Party. Its role was reported as follows in a Nov. 27 New York Times dispatch: **". . . the strongest party in the unions is the Ceylon Equality Party. This is a Marxist party outside the government. It is headed by . . . Dr. N. M. Perera, once Colombo's most popular Mayor and now leader of the Opposition in Parliament. . . . The unions he controls have been most active in calling strikes."**

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Meany's Complaint on Integration

The American labor bureaucracy's narrowness of vision on the struggle against Jim Crow and its relation to the labor movement may well be gauged by a statement made on Dec. 3 by AFL-CIO President George Meany at Atlantic City. Explaining to the convention of the Union Label and Service Trades Department that organized labor's failure to grow in size in the past period was due to "difficulties." Meany said, "Number One is that we had the Supreme Court decision calling for desegregation of the schools, which developed a tremendous resistance in the South, and that resistance was capitalized upon by anti-labor employers and it was used in every campaign."

From this it would logically follow that the Supreme Court decision against school segregation was an unfortunate and unwelcome development for labor. Now there are probably some labor bureaucrats who secretly think this, but none of them would say so openly. So it is unlikely that Meany meant any more by his statement than that the AFL-CIO leaders should not be blamed for their failure to organize the South because the job is tough and the racists oppose unionism as much as integration.

But even with this generous view of the statement, Meany, Reuther and the rest of the top brass of U.S. labor cannot be excused for calling off the promised campaign to organize the South. Indeed, they must in large measure bear responsibility for the growth of the White Citizens Councils and the present pitch of racism in the South.

The Supreme Court decision, which brought Southern Negroes to a new point of militancy and receptivity to unionization which persists to this day, could also have been a powerful weapon for labor in organizing white workers of the South. Instead, the labor bureaucrats permitted the reactionaries to convert it into a weapon against labor.

The domination of the official channels of public opinion in the South by the white-supremacists, the growth of the WCC and other night-riding groups, the penetration of the existing unions in the South by racists, has all taken place virtually unopposed. Not only did the labor leaders not launch an organizing campaign, which by its nature must also be an anti-Jim Crow campaign in the South, but they let the racist officials and the WCC become the dominant force among the white population by default.

It must be remembered that the present climate of opinion in the white South did not exist immediately after the Supreme Court decision. At that time the prevailing attitude among the whites was one of acceptance or resignation to the decision, that "they knew it was bound to come sooner or later." Instead of launching an organizing drive and using the "law of the land" argument to bolster the integration attendant upon bringing Negro and white into the same meetings and locals, marching together on the same picket lines, opposing the divide-and-rule racism of the employers, etc., the top labor leaders refrained from trying to influence the opinion of Southern white workers on the integration issue. The forum of public opinion was left to the racist politicians and Ku Klux elements. The unceasing din of their ever bolder propaganda and deeds has brought about the present conviction in the South that the high court decision can be successfully defied. The shock troops assembled for this task are also the employers' shock troops against unions.

After having defaulted to the racists originally, the labor bureaucrats justify continuance of the same policy by pointing to the situation this policy did so much to bring about.

The Debate in People's World

For the past number of weeks a running controversy has taken place in the pages of the People's World, a West Coast weekly reflecting the views of the Communist Party. The discussion was touched off when the paper, in a reversal of previous practice, accepted a paid advertisement from the Socialist Workers Party in San Francisco announcing a campaign rally for Frank Barbaria and Joan Jordan, its candidates for supervisor in the November election.

With the advertisement, the PW published a statement of policy declaring that its publication did not imply endorsement of the SWP or its candidates. The statement charged the SWP with "hostility to the lands of socialism" and "tactics. . . which do injury and sow discord in the labor movement and other people's organizations."

However, in subsequent issues, the PW did provide objective news coverage of the SWP campaign and of the support extended it by Vincent Hallinan, Warren K. Billings and others.

Meanwhile pro and con letters on the issue of independent political action and on the character and role of the SWP began to appear in the PW, culminating in a full page of such letters in its issue of Nov. 9. Much of the controversy centered around an Oct. 19 letter by Archie Brown which endorsed the PW's attack on the SWP and elaborated its charges. **The replies that his letter provoked indicate the growing revulsion among Communist party members and supporters against the practice of trying to refute the political arguments of the SWP with Stalinist-type slanders and distortions. The following are excerpts from some of the letters which were published. The captions have been added.**

* * *

FROM ARCHIE BROWN

"I want to agree most emphatically with your statement of policy . . . I even have my doubts as to whether or not you should have printed the ad at all. However, my real reason for writing this letter is to expose some of the things that are happening in and around the Trotsky election campaign in San Francisco. They have put out some fine-sounding election material which as usual is a cover-up for their disruption and determination to destroy the Communist Party and other people's organizations. Vincent Hallinan and Warren K. Billings are fine people . . . but I question their judgment in endorsing the Trotskyite candidates . . . Just how do you elect workers in these United States. . .? By endorsing known disrupters of workers' organizations here and inveterate enemies of the lands of socialism? Is this somebody's idea of unity?

"There would have been a chance to elect someone from labor's ranks . . . However, this calls for a COALITION POLICY, which is furthest from the thoughts of the Trotskyites . . . they offer some kind of a 'labor' party instead . . . Some people say that the Communists should have run a candidate in the local elections . . . I know personally that one of the determining factors as to why no worker ran with Communist support is that he or she would simply lose their job and stand the danger of being hounded by various governmental agencies. It is interesting to note the Trotskyites do not seem to have this problem, even though they claim to be ten times more r-r-revolutionary than the Communists."

* * *

A REPLY BY PLAYWRIGHT GEORGE HITCHCOCK

". . . Like Vincent Hallinan and Warren Billings, I have endorsed the candidacy of Frank Barbaria and Joan Jordan although I am in no way affiliated with the SWP and have profound differences with them on many questions, including their estimate of Soviet affairs. However, like many other socialists of my acquaintance, I question neither their sincerity or courage in running for office on a socialist platform. Their platform is excellent, they are both working people and should, I think, be supported by all socialist-minded voters . . .

"Finally, Archie Brown even questions your wisdom in printing a paid advertisement by the SWP . . . This is a vital question. And if people like Mr. Brown are successful in pressuring their paper into supressing socialist viewpoints with which they don't agree, I foresee a very dim future for it."

* * *

DOES HITCHCOCK READ MILITANT, ASK "G. & F. H."

"In the name of socialist unity George Hitchcock . . . has held up to scorn a Communist and 'unreconstructed old-timer' for presuming to question the sincerity of the Socialist Workers Party. One can not help but admire his courage in attacking a Communist, but is tempted to question his ability to read, despite his renown as a scholar . . . or perhaps he doesn't read The Militant? Reading this official organ of the SWP, one is repeatedly exposed to hostility and denunciation of the Soviet Union and in fact everything and everyone to the left of the rather squat position this group has assumed for many years . . . Hitchcock is liable to promote something more than socialist unity if he continues to harp on the uncompromising rigidity of Communists as opposed to the sweet reasonableness of those whose devotion to socialism falters only as it approaches realization."

* * *

ADAM LAPIN THINKS SWP GOT BARGAIN ON AD

"That one-inch ad for a Socialist Workers party campaign rally . . . a few weeks ago has been parlayed into a good many inches of copy. The PW found it necessary to accompany the ad with an editorial statement denouncing the SWP. Then Archie Brown wrote a longish letter wondering if the ad should have been printed in the first place . . . The SWP sure got its money's worth from a one-inch ad. I think Brown's letter was intemperate and vituperative. It was hardly calculated to convince any but the already convinced . . . I have no axe to grind for the SWP; it is too deeply mired in the Russian politics of several decades ago to offer a constructive socialist program for the U.S. today. But I do have an axe to grind for the PW. And I feel the PW is alienating many potential friends by its attitude toward the SWP. . ."

"Archie Brown is not likely to wean Hallinan, Billings or anyone away from the Socialist Workers Party with such a poor, puling letter . . . Knowing the role of the Trotskyites in Spain and elsewhere as well as Archie, I do not trust them. But attacking them, Archie faces away from the real enemy . . . Probably one reason Warren K. Billings is supporting the SWP is that he sees the SWP doing something to win a new trial for Morton Sobell . . . Perhaps he wonders what Archie and his union have done for Sobell in the last year or so. But people say, that the Sobell case is not 'broad' enough. . ."

* * *

WANTS CP TO RUN ITS OWN CANDIDATES

". . . Brown states there is 'great merit' in the idea of Communist candidates in local elections and then proceeds to say that one of the problems preventing this is job security. In my mind, job security is a secondary question and should be regarded as such. What appears to me to be the first step is the decision amongst the Communist Party membership to run candidates. In the past such decision was decided in the Party's county state committees . . . and never discussed widely among the rank and file. I personally have been in favor of CP candidates but in my eight years of experience in the party a full discussion among the membership has not taken place. . ."

* * *

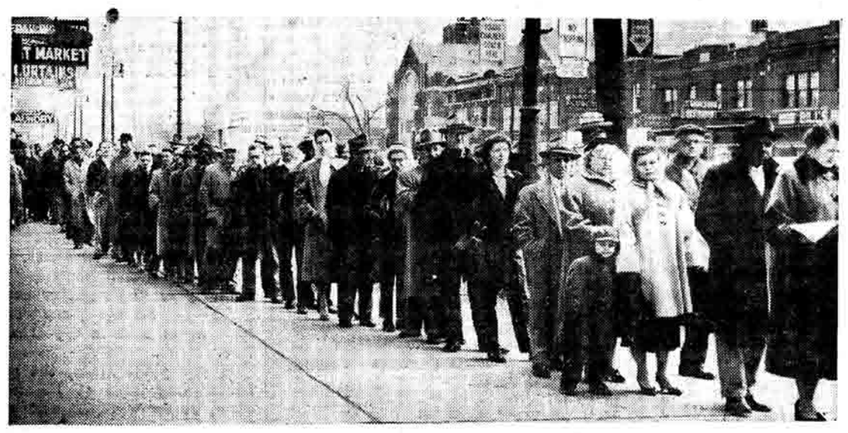
SWP CAMPAIGN MG'R ASHER HARA WRITES

". . . I would like to thank the People's World for accepting our campaign rally ads . . . That some would protest the PW's recognition of the changing times is to be expected. But is it too much to expect that such a protest — at a minimum — should be based on fact, not fiction? For example, Brown slurs the SWP candidates by saying that it is a strange thing that they can run for public office 'but do not lose their jobs.' . . . The facts: Barbaria was screened from his job as a seaman. He has been blacklisted from every shop in San Francisco in his trade and is at the present time compelled to work outside the city . . .

"Brother Brown and I are both longshoremen. We have far more job security than Barbaria or Jordan. As a matter of fact, Brother Brown still has the same job he had when he ran for governor. He could run for supervisor. . . Brown admits that the Barbaria-Jordan campaign has put out some 'fine-sounding' election material but goes on to say this is 'a cover-up for their disruption. . .' Does this make sense? That fine sounding election material and support of fine people . . . can disrupt the Communist Party, workers' organizations and 'the lands of socialism.'

"Brother Brown's only factual evidence to prove his charges is the following: that the SWP supports the idea of a Labor party. True — but is this disruption? The candidates state openly in their fine sounding election material that the workers and the minority peoples need their own political party; that support of Republicans and Democrats is a blind alley. As Vincent Hallinan once put it: for workers to enter the Democratic party with the idea of controlling it is like 'attempting to direct a whale from inside its stomach.' Would you consider Vincent Hallinan a disrupter, Brother Brown?"

Unemployment Lines Are Growing



Unemployment compensation lines, like the above during the auto cutbacks in Detroit last year, are now becoming more frequent throughout the U.S. as the current recession begins to be felt. During the last week of November 225,000 workers were registered for jobless benefits in New York — a 50% increase over the same period last year.

A Mild Recession

By Bob Whitehead

It's 6 A.M.

The place: New York City.

A young couple awaken to the pealing of a Big Ben. The young man jumps out of bed and hustles into his clothing, rubbing his skin to bring warmth. "You can sleep awhile longer," he tells the girl. She wastes no time acquiescing. After a cup of tea he heads to the front door. "Good luck, honey," she calls.

Walking quickly west towards West Broadway on Fourth Street, the young man stops on the corner to scan the front pages of the Times he can't afford to buy. "It's almost Christmas," he thinks, "and I can't spend a nickel on the damn Times. Santa Claus will be able to play the title role in the 'Thin Man,' this year."

As he proceeds west he takes a card from his pocket and reads an address. The line on the card he likes best is: "Temporary work. Pay by the day." The name of an acquaintance is scrawled across the top. The friend had told him he had weight. The boss would be sure to put him to work once he saw the name of the guy who'd sent him down there.

The front has the name of the establishment. The windows say shape-up at 6:30, but there are men in there already at twenty after. The room is hot and stuffy with a heater hanging from the ceiling going full blast. The store is only 15 by 15 but there are more than thirty men huddling together and more filing in by the minute.

Two men, sitting on one of the five wooden benches, have made friends:

"I've been coming down here for over a week now," says the first, "and that boss ain't sent me out on a job yet."

The young man walks to a counter where a well-dressed executive-looking chap is writing on a pad. He shows him the card. "Have a seat," says the boss, going back to his work.

"Well," says the second man, "I hear things are just about the same all over. Friend of mine lives in Montclair. Just bought his house, and things looked OK, so he bought a brand new Mercury, too. Now he's hung because there ain't a damn thing he can do with any of that stuff. Dealer wouldn't give him any money to sell the car back and he can't borrow anything on his house."

The young man is certain there must be something wrong with the man at the desk. He doesn't understand that he has a card from a friend—a guy with connections. But this time the man is a little more explicit in his directions to sit. He says everybody around here waits alike. "Nobody's special when I have the only work around town."

The first man is talking again. "When I lost my last job, my old lady said she wasn't going to let me sit around that house, so I went down to Warren Street. Always supposed to be work down there. They sent me over to one of those factories on the Lower East Side. I asked the guy what he was paying, and he said 90 cents an hour. I couldn't believe my ears. I said, 'You can't do that; the law says you have to pay a dollar.' He said: 'I got other problems without you telling me what the law is.' I ain't been to Warren Street since."

Soon it was too full for everyone to sit or stand within. The latecomers had to stand on the sidewalk. The young man had a seat which he wangled pretty close to the boss' desk, so he could get called if the guy had something to send someone out on. But there were a few whom the man seemed to know, and he would call them over, give them a slip of paper with an address, have them sign a sheet and then they got a dollar bill. The process was repeated twenty times by 10 A.M., but still nothing for the young man and the place seemed as full as it had been at 6:30.

The two men who had been talking each had 20 cents. They pooled to get two containers of coffee, and one cruller which they split. "I can't figure it," said the first. "What do you have to do to get that guy to send you on something?"

"I think," said the second, "that it's just a matter of him seeing you enough times." He noticed the young man for the first time. "Never saw you here before, son," he said in a friendly mid-western voice. "What line of work do you usually do?" The young man was deep in his own thoughts, realizing that he'd lost a whole morning from his uptown hunting. He looked up slowly and said, "Newspaper." The order men exchanged glances. "That makes you out to be a long way from home, don't it?" asked the first man. "You got college?" The young man nodded yes.

"Pfeffer, Jones, McCoy, Stubbs, Parker, Lipshultz, Tanner and Bohme, come and get this slip. That's all I have. You guys can stay and keep warm if you want to, but that's it for today. Try the department stores for stock jobs if you like." The boss turned and went into his office and the men dispersed.

The young man took his last quarter and went into a lunchenette to have coffee and to think. "What am I going to tell her when she comes home, and I didn't get anything?" He gives the waitress his order for coffee and a danish—a cheese danish, more protein. As he sits sipping his coffee the radio news comes on: **"The cost of living index has risen for the 13th consecutive month, the Labor Department announced. Meanwhile a statement from that same department says the employment picture has grown more serious with more layoffs in the East and West Coast aircraft plants. Other industries have reported mild cutbacks in skilled and unskilled personnel."**

Sues U.S. Gov't

JAMES KUTCHER

Legless Vet Goes To Court to Win His Back Pay

DEC. 5 — James Kutcher, the legless veteran who last year won back the government job from which he was fired for membership in the Socialist Workers Party, today filed suit for back pay due him. Kutcher's attorney, Joseph L. Rauh, filed the suit in the U.S. Court of Claims in Washington for the $23,000 pay coming to the legless veteran for the eight-year period during which he was illegally separated from his job in the Veteran's administration.

The court action was taken after the U.S. Comptroller General denied his claim for back pay even though the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ordered him reinstated to his job, after finding that he had been removed from it without legal cause. The Comptroller General's office had notified Kutcher that the back pay would not be granted without a court order.

Fidel Castro Describes Cuba Under Imperialism

(A vivid picture of what the rule of U.S. Big Business means for tens of millions of people throughout the Caribean Islands, Central America and South America who live under its economic dictates appears in the Nov. 30 Nation. It is written by Fidel Castro, leader of a revolutionary movement against the U.S. State-Department backed Batista dictatorship. The original Spanish version appeared in Cuba Libre, a Costa Rican publication. We We present excerpts from it below. — Ed.)

Cuba's land situation, the problems of industrialization, living standards, unemployment, education and public health: these are the problems—along with the attainment of civil liberty and political democracy—to the solution of which the revolutionary 26th of July Movement [the Castro-led movement] directs its efforts. . .

At least 85 per cent of Cuba's small-scale farmers rent their land, and face the constant threat of eviction. More than half of our best arable land is in foreign hands; in Oriente, the broadest province of Cuba the lands of the United Fruit Company and of the West Indies Fruit Company unite our northern and southern shores. Throughout the country, 200,000 rural families are without a square foot of land on which they can support themselves; yet almost ten million acres of untouched arable land remain in the hands of powerful interests. . . .

Except for a few food-producing industries and some woodworking and textile plants, Cuba is essentially a producer of raw materials. She exports sugar and imports candy; she exports leather and imports shoes; she exports iron and imports plows. Everyone agrees that there is a great need to industrialize: that we lack metal, paper and chemical industries; that the techniques of agriculture and animal husbandry must be improved; that our food-producing industries must be expanded. . . . But the possessors of capital keep the people bowed under ox-yokes, the state folds its arms, and industrialization will wait for kingdom come.

As bad, or worse, is the tragedy of our housing situation. There are about 200,000 huts and shacks in Cuba; 400,000 rural and urban families live crowded in slums without the barest necessities of sanitation. Some 2,200,000 Cubans pay rents which absorb from one-fifth to one-third of their incomes, and 2,800,000 of our rural suburban population are without electricity. In this matter we are blocked in the same way: if the state proposes a reduction in rents, the proprietors threaten to paralyze construction; if the state does nothing, the owners build only so long as they see high rents. The electric-power monopoly acts the same way; it extends its lines only so far as it can visualize a good profit; beyond that point, what matters if the people live in the dark. . . .

Our educational system is a perfect complement to the situations just described. . . . Any typical small European country boasts more than 200 technical and industrial-arts schools! in Cuba there are only six—and graduates go forth with their degrees only to find that there is no work for them. Less than half of our rural children of school age can attend school; and they go barefoot, ill-clothed and ill-fed. . .

Only death frees people from such poverty, and in this solution the state cooperates. More than 90 per cent of the children in our rural areas are infested with parasites which enter the body through bare feet. Society is greatly moved by the kidnapping or murder of a single child, but it remains criminally indifferent to the mass murder of our children through lack of proper care. . .

In such conditions, is it surprising that from May to December we have more than a million unemployed, and that Cuba, with a population of 5,500,000 has more people unemployed than either France or Italy, whose populations exceed 40,000,000?

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Washington, Oregon Hit by Layoffs

SEATTLE, Dec. 1 — Unemployment in the Northwest has been rapidly rising since August 1956. The state of Washington has the highest number of jobless since 1949, while unemployment in Oregon follows a similar trend. This down trend has been accelerated since September 1957. Lumber, Aircraft, Ship Building and Metal Trades felt the sharpest decline in employment.

Peter H. Giovine, Washington State Employment Security Commissioner reported 35,318 persons applied for jobless benefits during the week of Nov. 5. This was 16% more than the previous week and 60% more than the same week a year ago. This was brought about by heavy layoffs at Boeing aircraft and in lumber industries. Since then, unemployment has leveled off to the tune of 3,000 new persons per week. During the week ending Nov. 23, 3,673 were thrown on the unemployment rolls which brings the total for Washington to 45,695 — this is 15,624 more than the same week last year.

Unemployment in Oregon in the past month showed a 13,600 increase over October 1956 when 25,400 were seeking work.

The Washington Metal Trades Council, AFL-CIO reports that one third less man hours were worked during last September than during September of last year. — J. B. and R. T.

NAACP in L.A. Says Don't Buy Budweiser Beer

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 17 — **The Los Angeles branch of the NAACP has launched a boycott against Budweiser beer as the initial action in a carefully planned campaign designed to convince the nations' breweries of the desirability of adopting fair employment policies in all phases of their operations.**

Anheuser-Busch, manufacturers of Budweiser beer, is not the only company which practices discriminatory hiring, but the NAACP has decided to tackle one company at a time in order to obtain the most effective results.

It is reported that Budweiser has a $30,000,000 plant and that in its entire operation it employs only two Negroes, one as a bar boy and the other as a salesman.

The local community has responded enthusiastically to the NAACP appeal. The word is rapidly being passed along: "No Bud." Tavern and cafe owners have joined the Beverage Improvement Committee of the NAACP, under the temporary chairmanship of Rev. Maurice A. Dawkins, president, and reportedly have stripped their shelves and iceboxes of Budweiser.

They have also adopted a policy of refusing to make any separate agreements with Anheuser-Busch, insisting that all negotiations be handled through the committee.

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME XXI — MONDAY, DEC. 9, 1957 — NUMBER 49

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

The NAACP in Alaska

The Alaska Spotlight, a Negro weekly tabloid published at Anchorage, devoted its main editorial, Nov. 9, to a subject generally considered taboo in the Negro Press — "What Is Wrong With The NAACP?"

Like other groups subject to discrimination and attack, Negroes generally have a feeling of loyalty to their chief defense organization. They reserve the right to criticize its defects only for partisans of their struggle, and unite to defend it against Eastland and his kind.

IMPORTANT ISSUE EVERYWHERE

While this procedure is correct, it sometimes results in barring any criticism, even that necessary for democratic control and correction of errors or weaknesses. So the editorial in the Alaska Spotlight is a rare contribution to an important problem which concerns NAACP branches everywhere.

Commenting first on the infrequent meetings and poor attendance of the Anchorage branch, the editor continues:

"There are many theories advanced as to why the people of Anchorage lost interest in the local branch of the NAACP. Dullness of meetings is thought by many to be the main reason. But from where we 'sit in our tree,' it looks as if **the reason can be found in the utter indifference of the organization to the problems which face that segment of the race which is usually the one in greatest need of the type of assistance the NAACP is supposed to give."**

Then, to spell out the fact that he means the problems of the Negro workers are not the concern of the middle-class leadership, the editor cites two instances:

"It all started at the time when the activities of the local police force in Eastchester Flats would have shamed the worst sections of the deep South. An appeal to the local branch brought the response that those who were persecuted were: 'The wrong type of people,' implying that they had no rights anyone was bound to respect, which was exactly what Chief Justice Taney said about the entire Negro race in the Dred Scott case just before the Civil War.

"The latest instance was the inaction last summer when Negro laborers were finding it almost impossible to get jobs, because, they said, the officials of the local laborers' union was practicing race discrimination. Now these men are threatened with disciplinary action because they did complain about the treatment they were receiving, and not a murmur has been heard from the branch. Indeed, the common saying is: 'If you want your case loused up, turn it over to the NAACP.' "

The concluding point made in the editorial is that the local branch administration had better change its policies, or "the people would lose interest and stop attending meetings."

HOW TO SOLVE PROBLEMS

In this writer's opinion the Spotlight editorial is correct, as far as it goes. And the criticism of the Anchorage NAACP applies in many other branches, as well.

But the unavoidable conclusion from such experiences is that the way to change the policies of such branches from indifference to the problems of Negro workers to effective action on those problems is to elect workers as the administration.

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Witch-Hunt Victims Lash HouseGroup

[The following are excerpts from a Nov. 25 mimeographed news report circulated in Buffalo by three Westinghouse workers who were fired from their jobs for exercising their Constitutional rights at a House Un-American Activities Subcommittee hearing in that city last month.]

IUE locals 315 and 1581, Buffalo, N.Y., have processed grievance through local level. Next step of grievance will be held at national level at Pittsburgh. This action was preceded by unanimous votes of full support by Locals 315 and 1581 membership and district council, IUE, and also by the National IUE Westinghouse Conference Board. The District Council motion states: "We commend Locals 1581 and 315 for their efforts to stop the Westinghouse attempt to violate the mandate and spirit of the United States Constitution and the rights of employees who are members of our union." The respective membership and union bodies emphasized the dual aspect of job security and civil rights of all members.

On the community level in the Buffalo area, there has been notable progress on these and related cases arising out of the Un-American Activities Subcommittee hearings held from Sept. 30 through Oct. 4.

The Orchard Park News commented editorially that one's impression of what went on depended on what newspaper one read. Letters to the editor in the local papers criticized the smear publicity given to those subpoenaed.

Nov. 16, a debate was held at Orchard Park High School on the Buffalo hearings . . . Three panelists attacked the hearings (Rev. Robert T. Adams of Salem E&R Church; Robert Fleming, counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, Buffalo chapter; Mrs. Dorothy Ballan, Erie County Socialist Workers Party.) Only one of the panelists upheld the hearings (Joseph C. McNamara, chairman of the Subversive Activities Committee of the Erie County American Legion.)

The Socialist Workers Party issued a two-page typewritten protest against the "witch hunt activities" of the Un-American Activities Committee. It followed this by a paid advertisement commending the witnesses for their defense of the Bill of Rights of the Constitution.

Nov. 11, the American Civil Liberties Union conducted a forum at the Unitarian Church, of over 125 people. It discussed the recent security program and the civil rights discharges by Westinghouse . . . and Bethlehem Steel . . . It brought out that the aggrieved individuals should be reinstated for use of their rights under the Constitution.

Nov. 14, the League of Women Voters held a meeting at the Faculty Club, University of Buffalo. It discussed the full security program and how the committee was using this to have people blacklisted."

James Annacone
Vincent Pacile
Floyd Fried

Thank Boston SWP For Aid in Defeating Smith Act Frame-Up

The following is the text of a letter to the Socialist Workers Party, Boston Branch, by two of the five persons against whom Smith Act prosecutions were recently dropped.

Dear Friends:

We wish to express our sincere appreciation for the help which we received from the Socialist Workers Party in Boston in the local Smith Act case. The Boston Branch contributed much valuable time, effort, and money to our defense. This helped to assure not only our personal freedom but also a stronger position for civil liberties in this country. This activity has demonstrated a high level of working class solidarity and dedication to the mutual defense of all radicals against reactionary attack. We can only hope that this devoted and principled example will serve in the future as a standard for all radical groups in similar situations.

With best wishes,
Sidney S. Lipshires
Geoffrey White

Marie Reed Haug and Fred Haug, principal defendants in the Ohio Taft-Hartley conspiracy case. Fred Haug was an early CIO organizer. He helped lead the 1946 GE strike. Marie Reed Haug was the first woman officer of the Cleveland CIO Council and business agent for UE local 735 from 1944 to 1956.

Buffalo Workers Fired After Anti-Labor 'Probe'

By Lou Mason

BUFFALO, Nov. 26 — Following the House Un-American Activities Subcommittee hearings held here last month, a wave of firings and attempted firings of alleged communists has swept through the steel and electrical industries and through department stores and small factories. This onslaught on civil liberties—particularly on the right to earn a living—is taking place on a scale never seen in the area before.

In one plant alone, the giant Lackawanna mill of Bethlehem Steel, seven workers who were witnesses before the committee were given the "choice" of resigning or being discharged. Five of them who did not resign were suspended from their jobs and sent notices of "intent to discharge."

The five are members of the United Steel Workers of America. They are Julian Chazin and Everett Jones, both of Local 2604; Sam Brook and Miroslaw Zelman of Local 2601; and Edward Wolkenstein of Local 2603. The Buffalo Evening News reported tonight that the company has announced the discharge of all of them.

It is now evident that the local leadership of the steel union has given no real support to the five men in the fight for reinstatement on their jobs. It was reported at a membership meeting of Local 2604 last Sunday that the grievance committee was dropping the cases of Chazin and Jones. USW representative, Julian Bruce, has told the press that the other locals probably will let the remaining cases die also.

On the other hand, Arthur Jardin, field representative of the United Steel Workers, said at Sunday's meeting that the international staff would process these grievances at "third step" discharge hearings. The Buffalo Courier-Express interprets this as a decision of the international union "to put up a token fight." Apparently the local and international officials are ignoring the danger of the firings to the union. However, as the toll of lost jobs rises, concern has mounted in other quarters.

On Nov. 15 there was a debate on the topic of congressional investigations at the Orchard Park Central School sponsored by the Quaker Forum. The participants were Dorothy Ballan of the Socialist Workers Party; Robert Fleming of the University of Buffalo Law School; Rev. Robert Adams of Riverside-Salem Evangelical and Reformed Church; Joseph McNamara, chairman of the Subversive Activities Committee of the Erie County American Legion; and Harry Whiteside, the moderator.

Mrs. Ballan assailed the Un-American Activities Committee hearings as part of a witch-hunt, which is "the longest and deepest in American history." "It is due to the crisis in capitalist society in which the capitalist class can rule only by fear and suppression," she said.

Mr. Fleming criticized the procedure of the committee whereby witnesses are not allowed to make statements and have no right to cross-examine accusers. Rev. Adams said that he believes in congressional investigation and in the FBI. Nevertheless he scored the committee for asking questions to which the government already has the answers and for harassing good union leaders.

McNamara of the American Legion asserted that communism is the "mortal enemy" out to "throttle us all" and that the Un-American Activities Committee is the "watchdog of the people." He began in a mild manner but when two of the fired Bethlehem workers directed questions to him, he jumped up and explained that "you and you" are "foreign agents" in the eyes of "most Americans" and are "fortunate that you have not been shot." Such displays of unbridled reaction unleashed by the visit of the Un-American Activities Committee has alarmed many people since it is rumored that the committee may return here in a few months.

Earlier, another meeting attracted a large number of people who for the most part agreed that the present rapid erosion of civil liberties is a serious threat and must be stopped. At this meeting, sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union, a panel of three speakers presented their views on the effect that the hearings have had on the community.

Hersch Alderstein, of the Anti-Defamation League said that telephone calls to his agency indicated that an atmosphere of suspicion and hysteria had been created by the House Un-American Activities Committee. He objected to the newspaper coverage of the hearings, which smeared individuals and groups in a "trial by headline." Buffalo attorney, Jules Gordon, discussed various legal defenses open to those who are subpoenaed. Charles Cina, business agent of Local 55, United Auto Workers, who had defended two ex-members of the Communist Party when a company-inspired walkout took place against them, said he did so because they had renounced the Communist Party before the Walter Committee and could be "rehabilitated" into the fold of "American democracy."

When the speakers finished, the audience pressed for a general discussion from the floor instead of breaking up into small "workshop" groups as had been planned. This was agreed upon. Among those who then spoke was one of the seven workers fired by the Bethlehem Steel Company. He exposed the falsity of the company charges against him. He was accused of being a "security risk" even though there is no actual armament production done in the plant.

ECLC to Honor Little Rock Woman

Mrs. Grace Lorch of Little Rock, Ark. will be guest of honor at a New York City dinner celebrating the 166th anniversary of the Bill of Rights. Sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the dinner will be held at the New Yorker Hotel, Tues. evening, Dec. 17. Mrs. Lorch was recently praised by the press of the country when she befriended a Negro student attacked by a Little Rock mob. Later the Eastland Committee "investigated" her political beliefs. Reservations for the dinner are $10 each and may be made through the ECLC office, 421 Seventh Ave., New York City.

An Interview With Eric Reinthaler of Cleveland T-H Case

By William Bundy

Eric Reinthaler, a 33-year-old Cleveland factory worker is one of the defendants in the Cleveland Taft-Hartley Conspiracy Case which is scheduled to go to trial next month. He was in New York last week-end, publicizing his case, and I interviewed him after he made a speech to the Young Socialist Forum here. Before asking Reinthaler his opinions on the case, I gathered the following background facts:

Eight persons were indicted last Jan. 23, by a Federal Grand Jury in Cleveland on charges of "conspiring" to circumvent the non-communist affidavit provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law. Only two of these, Fred Haug and Marie Reed Haug, have been accused of actually signing false affidavits, a charge tney have denied. They were indicted for this last Jan. 9, but the government prosecutors have never brought the case to trial. **Instead, it is trying the Haugs, Reinthaler and five alleged former Ohio Communist Party officials for "conspiracy" to deceive the National Labor Relations Board, a charge on which there is no statute of limitations and on which it is possible to drag in any number of persons on the basis of "guilt-by-association."**

I asked Reinthaler about the implications of this procedure.

FRAME-UP DEVICES

"In the first place," he said, "the Taft-Hartley provision itself is made to order for a frame-up of any labor leader who is not a good boy in the eyes of a Big-Business government. All they have to do is get some of their professional informers to testify that the labor leader was a Communist during part of the time that he occupied union office. When this is tied to the conspiracy device, anyone who has associated with the accused is liable to prosecution, including union members or acquaintances, political or otherwise."

"What is your connection with the principals in this case?" I asked. "Both the Haugs have been very prominent in the Cleveland labor movement. Fred used to be a top official of the United Electrical Workers, and Marie was business agent for UE local 735 until 1956. I was a shop steward and member of the executive board of local 735 both before and after it left the UE. In the fall of 1956 it became Lodge 2155 of the International Association of Machinists."

"How did you become involved in this case?"

"Shortly after the local left the UE and joined the IAM, I was approached by FBI agents. The gist of their remarks to me was: 'We know you're OK, but we'd like to know about some of your friends in the labor movement.' I didn't want to become involved with the FBI and I told them so.

FBI BLANDISHMENT

"Then in November 1956 I received a subpoena from the House Un-American Activities Committee which was holding hearings in Youngstown. Several days later I got a phone call from the FBI telling me that my subpoena had been canceled. 'Now you wouldn't have wanted that bad publicity, would you,' the agent said. 'Now we've done you a favor. We expect reciprocation.' They tried several times after that to get me to 'come down and talk to us.' **Then on Jan. 20 I was called before the grand jury. The questioning was in private and I was not allowed counsel. I was submitted to about two hours of vague questioning, mostly about events during the 1940's."**

"Were you a union official during the Forties?"

"No. Part of the time I was in the Eighth Infantry during the War. Then I worked in a steel plant in Youngstown and was active in local 1331 of the Steelworkers. I helped organize support from the Ohio area for the United Mine Workers strike in 1950, and I've been on local union executive boards and editorial committees, but I've never been a union official."

"What followed the grand jury questioning?"

"Three days later I was indicted for 'conspiracy' along with the others. To make it dramatic, the indictment also named as co-conspirators, but not as defendants, eight more persons including nationally prominent Communists like Gus Hall and Steve Nelson."

ERIC REINTHALER

"Specifically, what does the indictment allege against you?"

He showed me a copy of the indictment. The only overt act alleged against Reinthaler is that he "did transport a person known to him to be a member of the Communist Party USA to a meeting with Hyman Lumer, defendant herein." The name of the person alleged to have been transported is Fred Leonard Gardner, a professional government witness.

UNION SUPPORT

"Do you think they can actually get a conviction on such flimsy allegations?"

"Well it all depends on how much of a witch-hunt atmosphere they can whip up, and how much support we can muster. Support is already coming in from regions or locals in Packinghouse, Teamsters, Machinists, Painters, the Mechanics Educational Society and West Coast Longshore as well as from civil liberties groups."

"What can be done to help in your fight?"

"First you can write to William Rogers, the United States Attorney General, asking that the indictments be dismissed. This should be done soon because the trial is scheduled for Jan. 6. **Second, the Haugs and I are representd by competent civil liberties lawyers whom we have hired, but this is a serious financial problem. Any contributions will be deeply appreciated. Checks or money orders should be sent to Tom Degnan, Treasurer, R-H Defense Fund, 1205 Superior Avenue, Cleveland 14, Ohio."**

Eric Reinthaler To Speak Before Chicago Forum

CHICAGO—Eric J. Reinthaler, defendant in the Cleveland Taft-Hartley "conspiracy" case will be the main speaker at the Washington Park Forum on Sunday afternoon, Dec. 15.

Mr. Reinthaler's subject will be "What's Behind the Taft-Hartley 'Conspiracy' Case?" It is one of a series of meetings in the East and Midwest at which he is speaking to rally support for the victims of this new anti-labor, anti-civil liberties attack. Last week, Mr. Reinthaler spoke in New York before the Young Socialist Forum sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance.

The Washington Park Forum is a community forum on Chicago's South Side that for over 30 years has been a center of free speech and public discussion. It meets at 306 E. 43rd St. Rev. Joseph P. King is president and John Hamilton is secretary.

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A. J. MUSTE

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